Learne
OF A
TVRK;
OR
Instructions and Advise sent from the *Turkish* Army at *Constantinople*, to the *English* Army at *London*.

Faithfully and Impartially communicated by M. B. one of the Attendants of the *English* Agent there.

Eccles. 1. 9.

The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, that which is done, is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the Sun.

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A TURK.

LONDON.

To the Reader.

READER, Although thou haſt not much skill in *forreign Names*, yet if thou haſt any little skill in *Domeſtick affairs*, thou mayeſt out of this diſcourſe pick ſome knowledge of *our Miſeries* paſt: of our *Miſeries* preſent, with the *root* and *ſpring* of them, and of the moſt probable *means* of redeeming them for the future. God make our *Grandees* in the Army, and out of the Army, *wiſe by the harmes of others* (they that build much upon the confidence of an Army, build upon a quick-ſand) And God make them *honeſt* after the *Example* of others, or elſe *the men of Niniveh* ſhall riſe up in judgement againſt this Government, *Matth.* 12. 41. And the *Turks Circumciſion* ſhall judge and condemn theſe mens *Baptiſme*, yea, though it be *Anabaptiſme*.

The meaning of ſeveral Names mentioned in the following diſcourſe.

JAnizaries. *The Turks foot ſouldiers.*
Spahies. *The Troopers or Horſemen.*
Seraglio. *The great Turks Palace.*
Divan. *The publick Councell.*
Sanrack. *A Colonel.*
Beg. *A petty Lord or Governour of a ſmall Province.*
Beglerbeg. *A great Lord that hath many beys under him.*
Segmen Baſſa. *The Lieutenant General of the foot.*
Imbrahir Baſſa. *The Maſter of the Horſe.*
Boſtangi Baſſa. *The chief Gardiner, who is ordinarily the Turks Executioner.*
Aga of Janizaries. *Captain General of the foot.*
Baſſa. *The greateſt Commander and Governour the Turk hath abroad.*
Vizier a Baſſa. *Called from abroad, and made of the Councel at home.*
Grand Vizier. *The Lieutenant General of the Empire, Viceroy, the ſecond man in the Kingdome.*
Chimacham. *The third man in the Kingdome, Deputy to the grand Vizier.*
Teſtardar. *The Treaſurer.*
Cadeleſcher. *The chief juſtice.*
Caſſiaraga. *The Governour of the women.*
Capi Aga. *The Emperours mouth by whom he ſpeaks in publick.*
Hoia. *The Emperours Confeſſor.*
Mufti. *The High-Prieſt of the Mahumetans. Their Pope.*

Achmat

Achmat, eighth Emperour of the *Turks* ſuddenly dying, *Novemb.* 15. 1617. Left behinde him three ſons, but all under age; wherefore by the advice, eſpecially of his mother *Flatua*, who was mother both to him and *Muſtapha*, he appointed his brother *Muſtapha* his ſucceſſour in the Empire, who by a ſpecial providence had been (contrary to the manner of the *Turks*, whoſe Emperours ſlay all their brethren as ſoon as they aſcend the Emperial Throne) reſerved thus for the Scepter. This *Muſtapha* had not long raigned, but that growing cruel and odious, the Grand Vizier came with an Army out of *Perſia* and depoſed him, forcing him to returne to his Cell (where he had lived like a relgious man all the Reign of *Achmat* his Brother) and fetching *Oſman*, the heire of *Achmat*, out of priſon, ſet him in the Imperial Throne, with the general applauſe of all the *Baſſaes* and whole Army, and this in the year 1618. *Sed fourtuna vitrea eſt, cum ſplendet maxime frangitur.* This young Prince was ſcarce well warm in his fathers Seat: But taking diſcontent at his ſouldiery, eſpecially the *Janizaries*, he had a deſign upon them to disband and diſarme them, if not wholly deſtroy them, and erect another Militia in their roome. To cover which deſigne of his the better, he gave out a pretenſion of a *Voiage* to *Mecha*, to viſit the Sepulchre of their great Prophet, from which uundertaking no Reaſons, Adviſes, Petitions could diſſwade him, although the ſouldiery paſſed ſo far, as to threaten publickly, and

The Army upon an apprehenſion of a deſign to disband them

and to proteſt they would not follow, but rather ſet up another King in his abſence. On *Wedneſday* they ſeventh of *May* in the year 1622. while his Tents and other accommodations for his journey were paſſing over unto *Aſia*-ſide, the *Janizaries* and *Spahies* ſuddenly met at the *Hyppodrome* in the City, upon a word given, and from thence ran to the *Seraglio*, which is the great *Turks* Palace, in tumult, and there cryed out for the King, who appeared to them, asked what this inſolency meant, and what they pretended? They then by the mouth of the multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monſter) demanded, Firſt, that he ſhould not proceed in his purpoſe to go to *Mecah*, nor to *Aſia*. Secondly, to have delivered to their fury the great Vizier *Delevir Baſſa*, the *Hoia*, or the *Ceſſaraga*, the *Teſtardar*, the *Cadeleſcher*, and ſome others as Enemies to the State. The firſt after a little diſpute, the King granted to them, promiſing to give over his journey; but they not content with words, exacted it in writing. To the ſecond he replyed, that it was diſhonour to him to have his ſervants ſo uſed without order of Juſtice, but perſwaded them to have patience to ſtay till *Saturday* the *Divan* or publick Councel, where they ſhould appeare; and if they were found culpable, they ſhould receive puniſhment (not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their preſent fury.) Theſe fellows not content with that moderate anſwer, undertook to know that they were guilty, and therefore they needed no other *Witneſſe*, *Tryal*, or *Judge* but themſelves, and with extreame clamour called to have them rendred. But the King refuſing to give them any other ſatisfaction, and they unprepared for force, returned into the City, which now was all in feare; every houſe and ſhop being ſhut up, expecting a general ſack. But they followed the way of their own hatred, and firſt went to the houſe of the *Hoja*, which they brake and pillaged; But not finding him, they proceeded to the great *Viziers*, who made ſome defence, and they being unarmed, beat them off: and ſo they ſeparated, being now evening, yet kept a guard in ſome parts of the Town.

Mutiny.

Demand ſome chief Officers of State to juſtice,

which the King denying,

That night the King made an attempt to fortifie and defend

defend the *Seraglio*, which was strongly walled about, and had alwayes in it of houſhold ſervants, above three thouſand; but it ſeems no man would arme in his cauſe: So the next morning the mutiniers aſſembled againe, and taking their armes, went firſt to the *Mufti*, or Arch-Prieſt among them, and enforced him and divers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded theſe men, but with more inſtance and fury; in the mean time the *Hoia Cadeleſcher* and *Tofterdar* fled; and were not in long time diſcovered; the *Vizier* retired to the King, and perſwaded him earneſtly to go over in perſon in his own boates to *Aſia*, and there to take horſe, and he would ſecure him from all peril; but the King would not move, bidding him ſtay, confident and aſſured that he would puniſh theſe rebels.

They aſſemble in Arms next morning.

The wiſe old man ſeeing this conſtancy (or obſtinacy) deſired leave to ſhift for himſelf, which he took or obtained, and ſo got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowned amongſt them, who (like himſelf) betrayed him; yet did him the favour, as not to deliver him to the multitude, but perſwaded and carried him back to the Kings houſe. At this time it was diſputed in the *Seraglio* about the deſivery of thoſe Officers, the Emperour refuſing; the rebels clamouring and threatning, inſomuch as he began to feare they would break in, and in their rage do worſe then they yet pretended. Whereupon (whither by the Kings order, or by his own conſent willing to be the peace-offering) the brave Vizier went out to them, and with a good aſſuredneſſe demanded what they ſought of him, and wherein he had offended? "At firſt they were amazed, but one "inſolent villain breaking the general modeſty, they an- "ſwered him with their ſwords, and ſuddenly cut him in "pieces.

Cut the Vizier in pieces.

The Emperour ſeeing their fury ſo outragious, had more cauſe to doubt, and retired himſelf then too late, when he had loſt his faithful Councellour, and would have fled into *Aſia*, but could not; yet he conveyed himſelf into a private place prepared by his *Boſtangi Baſſa*, or chief Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madneſſe, asking for their King

Force the Emperour to hide himſelf.

King, and for more ſacrifices. But the Servants proteſting they knew not where he was, they reſolved to enter the Palace ("but firſt took a general Oath not to ſack the Im-"perial Throne, which they called their houſe and their "honour) and there ſeeking for the King, but not able to find him, they extorted it by confeſſion from the *Caſſiaraga*, & ſlew him; and then they demanded for the depoſed *Muſtapha*, Uncle to *Oſman*, a man eſteemed rather holy (that is frantick) then wiſe, and indeed fitter for a Cell then a Scepter. The King the firſt day of this tumult had put *Muſtapha* into a Vault with two *Negro* women, without bread or drink, in which eſtate theſe new Electors found him almoſt naked and half pined. At firſt ſight he thought they had been the Meſſengers of death, but that fear paſſed over; his firſt requeſt was a cup of water, whom they took up and inſtantly proclaimed him their Emperour, which he was loath to accept, in a manner aſhamed to be raiſed to that dignity. How unſtable are the ſtates of the greateſt Princes? "For he that was even now in the jaws of death, "naked, ſtarved, and dying for thirſt, is become a great Mo-"narch, may drink gold, or the innocent blood.

The mutiniers miſſing him ſet up a mock-King.

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Oſman*, and loath to truſt *Muſtapha* in the Palace, carried him in triumph to the old *Seraglio*, and there left him, departing to the ſack of the Viziers houſe, and ſo in the evening to their Rendevous, where they kept both good guard, and good order in the City from fire and other inſolencies. Sultan *Oſman* amazed with theſe newes, aſſoone as they had left the Court, came out, and called to Counſel in the night *Hurein Baſſa*, late Vizier in the Poliſh Wars, and the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, both faithful to him, and demanded their advice; firſt having ſent to the old *Seraglio* to practiſe the women there to ſtrangle *Muſtapha*; but ſome of them taking his part, a new uproare began in the houſe between that ſex; and the Souldiers that kept watch, hearing the noiſe, entred in, and reſcued him; and from thence removed him to the Chambers of the *Janizaries*, where they kept him for that night in an ill lodging.

All

All this while *Osman* is consulting what course to take; these two his friends and some others tell him, that the case was desperate, and could not be cured but by a desperate remedy, and therefore they agreed that the *Aga* should go and perswade with the *Mufti*; and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himself to the souldiers at their own doors, and make experience what his *presence*, his *submission* and his *benevolence* promised, would work, to move them to loyalty or compassion: which counsel early in the morning they put in practise. The King accompanyed with the *Mufti* (who never consented to his deposing, though he favoured the souldiers against the Vizier with *Huzein Bassa*) and about twelve horsemen went directly to the *Janizaries* Colledge, where *Mustapha* was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration, offering great recompense, repenting of his errours, and finally invoked them by the merits of his father, and all his Ancestours to have some pity upon their true Master. "The "multitude (as prone to pity as they were before to hatred) "now knew not what to do; a silent murmure now ran "among them, and they were half converted. But the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unseasonably for him, with some harsh words of upbraidure, anew moved their fury, so that they cryed out TREASON, and fall upon him and *Huzein Bassa*, and cut them in pieces; every man taking a piece of their flesh to satiate their revenge. The *Mufti* would have spoken, but was withdrawn by some, out of respect to his place, and with difficulty was conveyed away. Now the poor *Osman* saw his friends slain, and knew not which way to turne himself; but binding up his eyes with a napkin, expected death as the last of their fury. But that they might seem to proceed in a course of JUSTICE, they carried him first before *Mustapha*, and accused him as the *disturber of the peace of the Empire*, and demanded sentence against him. *More vulgi, suum quisque flagitium aliis objectans.* The forsaken Prince pleaded for life, and the new King knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At last they consulted with themselves, and

The true King addresseth himself to the souldiers.

They begin to relent,

But being anew enraged by the rashness of one of his attendants, they

Attach him,

Arraign him as a disturber of the peace.

put him upon a horſe, an inſolent *Spahi*, changing Turbants with him, and ſent him away priſoner to the ſeven Towers under good guard (in his paſſage begging a draught of water at a fountain) and then returned to their new Maſter, and placed him in the *Seraglio* and Imperial Throne, where he had need have good broths and analepticks to reſtore his decayed body.

Commit him to priſon,

The ſouldiers now thought all was done, and onely ſacking the houſes of *Hurein Baſſa*, and ſome others, returned in quiet to their ſeveral lodgings, and had no further malice. But the new Vizier *Daout Baſſa* made by *Muſtapha*, knew well if *Oſman* lived, that this ſtorm might paſſe over, and he would as eaſily by the ſame means, returne to his eſtate as he fell from it; therefore he conſulted with ſome few intereſſed in *Muſtapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Oſman*, to ſearch how many of the *Royal Blood* were left alive; and reſolved, if there remained two, to make an end of *Oſman*. Two of his brothers were found, the one about twelve, the other about ſeven years of age; and thereupon the Vizier went himſelf to the priſon with a pack of hangmen, and gave order to ſtrangle the unfortunate Prince, who now having had no reſt in two nights, and thinking himſelf ſecure for a ſeaſon, was newly fallen aſleep, but awakened by the coming of theſe Meſſengers, asked what News? ſaying, he did not like their ſudden intruſion. They at firſt ſtood amazed, and the King made ſhew to defend himſelf. But a ſtrong knave ſtruck him on the head with a Battle-axe, and the reſt leaping upon him, ſtrangled him with much ado. "Thus one of the greateſt Mo-
"narchs in the world was firſt *affronted* by his mutined
"Troops, his own ſlaves, almoſt unarm'd, and few in num-
"ber, no man taking up ſword to defend him; and they
"who firſt began this madneſſe, not meaning to *hurt him*,
"by the encreaſe of their own fury, which had no bounds,
"*depoſed him againſt their own purpoſe*; and at laſt *expoſed*
"*his life, againſt their will, to the Counſels of other*
"*men, whom they equally hated.* And now they *mourned*
"*for their dead King* as *freſhly* as they raged (while he lived)
"unreaſonably, knowing that they had *ſtained their honour*

Where he is murthered.

"this

" this being the *first* of their Emperours that they ever " *betrayed*, and having set up another, that in all likelihood " they must change for disability.

Some observations upon this occasion will not be impertinent to these that desire to know, as well the disposition and use as the things themselves.

First, in the purpose of the souldier not at all to violate the King, much lesse to depose or murther him, but onely to take away these about him, whom they lookt upon as enemies; yet the fury once on foot, they proceeded by unsensible steps to the utmost of outrage, against the Throne and life of their own Emperour, *ubi furor invaluit innocentes & noxios juxta tollit*, where rage and fury hath got the upper hand, there the Innocent and nocent fare both alike.

Secondly, observe how this Monarch fell by degrees; he had never fallen thus low, if he had not first lost the awe and Reverence which alwayes attendeth upon Majesty (if it be kept up) by unseemly offices done by him; and now in this last act, *if his own obstinacy* had not plunged him into destruction, a *seasonable yeelding to time*, had softned them, and saved him.

Thirdly, in the order, that these Mutiniers having no head nor direction, kept such Regiment, that in their fury, in their hot blood, in the Kings yard they took an Oath not to *sack nor dishonour the Imperial* Throne; neither committed nor suffered any violence in the City to the Naturals, but rather proclaimed peace and justice.

Fourthly, in the consequents, that at the third dayes end all was quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no such thing had happened; onely the *Janizaries* suffered no *Divan* or Counsel, until they had received a Donative as a reward of their iniquity. And now these fellows having tasted the sweet of prosperous Mutinies (*haud ignari summa scelerâ incipi cum periculo perfici cum prâmio*) knowing that the greatest wickednesses are begun with hazard, but perfected with reward, took such *an head* as could not *safely be suffered on, nor securely taken off*.

On *Saturday* morning, the 1. of *June* following, the *Capi A-*

Aga, or *Major Domo* having received an Order to remove the brethren of *Osman* from their Lodgings, and in the night to strangle them, as he was performing his command, the poor Princes cryed out, the Pages running to the noise, and encouraged by the *Cassiaraga*, who had some suspition, without further examination, killed the *Capiaga*. That night they sent secretly to the *Janizaries* and *Spahies* to inform them what they had done, and in the morning early hanged his body in the *Hippodrome* for a publick spectacle. The souldiers returned in fury to the Court in favour of the Pages, and demanded justice of those that had consented to the wicked order, which *had made an end of all the Ottoman race*; onely this *Mustapha* being left alive, who was such a Saint, that he would not people the world with sinners, nor endure any woman near him. The innocent King protested, he knew nothing of the plot, and if such command were procured, it was gotten by subreption; and he was easily believed. But his mother and the new Vizier *Daout Bassa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a day of *Divan*, but the souldiers would suffer none, till they had an account of this Treason. The Vizier denyed all: the mother was a woman, and hid in the house. But now somewhat must be done to appease the people.; therefore *Daout Bassa* was degraded from his Office, and one *Hurein Bassa*, now arrived from the Government of *Cairo*, put in his place, with promise of further examination. But the fury once over, there was no great search nor discovery made.

The army mutinies a second time;

Occasions the Creation of a new Vizier,

The new Vizier *audax ferox, & pront animum intendit, pravus aut industrius eadem vi*, upon some spleen towards the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, took occasion to cashier him, and sent him to the Islands to be strangled, and gave order to murther some other *Bassaes* and Officers, that so he might make way to depose Emperour *Mustapha*, and set up *Morat* the child, the brother of *Osman*, many being of his party; whereupon the souldiers rose all in armes at the *Seraglio*, taking the alarm at the medling with their *Aga*, rescued their Captain and the rest, and demanded the head of the Vizier, whereupon he fled, and order was given

Against whom they also rise in mutiny.

to

to kill him where he could first be found; the Viziers house was sacked, and infinite treasure taken, so that the souldier was quieted for a day or two by making a new Vizier *Mustapha Bassa*, who was of a soft nature, and scarce durst do justice for fear of offending any man. Now a new faction was made between *Mustapha* and *Morat*, and it was expected hourely, when there would be some great slaughter or *Massacre* in the City; for of *necessity one side must fall.*

"There was then no security for any man, when the *King*, "*and Viziers, and all Officers held their lives and Dignities at* "*the courtesie of the mutinied souldiers*, who had tasted the "sweet of Rebellion, and cast off all awe and reverence, "and could not easily be reduced to order without much "blood and hazard of the whole. Therefore the WI-"SER MEN retyred from OFFICE, and the insufficient did cause their own daily change and RUINE. The "souldiers adhered to the King of their own Creation; for "he was in effect their creature, and they did wholly govern "him. The Lawyers and Churchmen made secret conven-"tions, and feared not to say openly, that the *foundation* of "their State was dissolved, their King unlawful, and all "that adhered to him lapped into heresie, having despised "the institutions of *Mahomet*.

All from the greatest to the least at the courtesie of the Army.

Against whom the Lawyers and Church-men unite for the publick good.

The souldiers still continued in their mutinies at *Constantinople*, and grew to that height of insolency, that going in Troops to the Court, they demanded all *Offices of Gaine*; to be *Stewards to the revenues of the Churches, which are great*; to take Farmes of Customes, and committed many other outrages which are unsufferable; the Viziers themselves durst deny them nothing: if complaints of any insolencies or injuries were made to the chief Vizier or Magistrate, they answered, *none durst meddle with them, that had murthered their own King*; and desired the Complainants patience, and that they would bear a part with the general sufferings.

The souldiers demand the Churches Revenues, and all Offices of gain.

By this time the wickedness of some of the chief Leaders in these commotions was ripe for vengeance, and their day is come. The great Vizier *Georgi* envying the authority of *Daont Bassa* brother in law to the Emperour, *Mustapha* who,

who had been the Counsellor and the instrument to murther Sultan *Osman*, scorning that he should underhand Govern in his Reigne, he therefore practised to put him to death; but not daring to do it by his own Authority, and knowing it to be in vaine to think to procure it from the Court, he stirred up the *Spahies* to demand justice upon him for the death of the last King. This looked further then the first assent; for the subtle Vizier, who was faithful to his *true Lord*, knowing the rage of an unguided multitude, aimed at a by-revenge upon others, who he hoped would be involved and accused of the order. The souldier soone raised and mutinied in the *Seraglio*, demanded *Daout*, he fled. But now that the businesse was on foot, if he were not found, the Vizier himself is in danger: but the poor man was taken, and brought to the *Divan*, and there being called to publick Justice, he must excuse himself upon some greater person; wherein the Emperour and his Mother ran a new hazard, which was the secret end. Therefore both of them forsook him and left him to the Law, and without any tryal, he was brought before the souldiers, stript, and his Turbant taken off, and on his knees ready to receive the stroke of death. But suddenly the *Janizaries* came to his rescue and carried him away to their Chambers. The *Spahies* who begun this action, took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, that they would have him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publick Justice. *Thus those two mutinied factions were ready to come to blows. Daout Bassa* now in some hope of life bribed the *Janizaries*, and that day distributed fourty thousand Chequines of gold, and they promised to protect him. Who did not now think but he was taken away for safety? But the *Spahies* followed their first resolution, and to appease the dissension, it was agreed he should die. They that meant to save him, could not, but reserved him for a greater example of Justice. They would not let him now loose his head in the Court; *that death was to honourable for him, that had murthered his Prince.* Therefore they put him into the *same Couch* wherein he had sent Sultan *Osman* to Execution. Twice in the way, being dry, with sorrow he drank at the *same Fountain* where

The Spahies set on by the present Vizier, demand justice for the death of their King, though occasioned by themselves.

Upon which the Army is divided into two Factions, and ready to fight.

To prevent them, he that murthered the King is delivered to justice.

where his late Master begged drink: and so was conveyed into the *same Chamber*, wherein he had murthered him. The Executioner beginning to tye him, himself shewed the very *corner* where he had committed that foul fact, and desired that there he might, if possible, expiate it. And so at last he was miserably strangled.

And here observe the justice of God even for the wicked, who seldome suffers the blood of any, scarce (if at all the blood of Kings) to passe without an exemplary retaliation; the *same Couch*, the *same Chamber*, the *same Corner*, the *same Death*. And observe again, the power of conscience, even in a *Mahometan*, able to make him, if not his own Executioner, yet almost a voluntary sacrifice to the Ghost of his murthered Prince.

Which yet is not so appeased, but must and will have yet more sacrifices; and to demand them, comes the *Bassa* of *Arrivum*, with a great Army towards *Angria*, marching the direct way to *Constantinople*. He held a general Counsel in his Camp, and sent to the Port to desire the "presence of the *Mufti*, *Cadees*, *Bassa's* and ancient *Beghs* "to take knowledge; and to punish the *Traytours that mur-* "*thered the late King*; and to settle a *New one lawfully* "that should be able to governe, to *reduce the mutinied City* *souldier* to obedience and discipline, and to place about the Emperour some great Vizier chosen by the State, able to direct and applie remedies to the diseases then grown to a *Crisis*. 'Complaining, that every *three or four moneths*, by 'the *change* of the Vizier, the Provinces were destroyed; for 'they placed and displaced the Governour according to 'their own Factions, and so *contrary orders were sent* abroad 'daily, insomuch that no man knew whom they should obey. 'These were his pretences; and if the present State would 'not assent to this Assembly, he then *resolved to come to the* '*Port, and settle all things at his pleasure by the sword*. The *Great Officers* in possession of the Emperour and Government, loath to be called to account by the souldier, took a worse resolution to make a Warre, and make choice of *Cigala Bassa* for General, which he refused upon the same pretence, that in his absence alterations would be so frequent,

The Army abroad under the conduct of a great Commander, rise to avenge the death of their King; who calls a general Councel.

Makes Declarations of his honest intentions.

Against whom the Governor, set up by the mutinied Army, guilty of *Osmans* blood, proclaim a War.

and

and that he ſhould not pleaſe, or at leaſt uncertainly and according to interpretation. Therefore he would have an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equal to that of the great Vizier, or elſe he would not ſtirre. This was granted him, and money given out, and order to paſſe the water, ſpeedily enrolling for his Army 15000. *Janizaries*, and 30000. *Spahies*. But thoſe did demur, and alleadge it was a War againſt their own BRETHREN, and ſought any excuſes, rather then to come to blowes. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy *Lent*, at the end of which they were to receive their *pay*, and therefore they would not move, but pretended Religion. Next day after their Feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelves careleſſe (having firſt *held many conſultations*) and would not march at all, unleſſe the Emperour or great Vizier would go in perſon: ſo every day brought forth new trouble, and the Empire to a great deal of hazard and danger.

☞ But the mutiniers demur, & pretend loathneſs to fight againſt their brethren, held conſultations, refuſe to march, ☜

'That State, for fifteen moneths after the death of *Oſman*, 'was a ſtage of variety, the ſouldiery uſurping all Govern-'ment; placing and diſplacing as the winde of favour or diſ-'favour moved them. In that time there were three Em-'perours, ſeven great Viziers, five Agaes of the *Janizaries*; 'Two Captain *Baſſaes*, three Treaſurers, ſix *Beſſaes* of *Cai-'ro*; and in proportion, as many changes of Governours 'in all the Provinces. Every new Vizier making uſe of his time, diſplacing thoſe in poſſeſſion, and ſelling their ho-nour to others, ſo as the whole Empire was in a manner fined four or five times over. *Hurein* Baſſa the laſt Vizier of them, conſumed the *publick treaſure* ſo faſt, and *exacted* money of *private men* ſo *violently* to maintaine his *Faction* with the *Janizaris*, that even the receivers themſelves were afraid and weary, and the wiſeſt of them foreſaw their own ruine in the generall conſumption; when there was any murmure againſt him, he preſently ſilenced it either by *guifts* or *blood*.

Yet at length perſwaded to move;

Aſſoon as he had diſpatched away *Cigala Baſſa* with his Army againſt the *Baſſa* of *Arrivum*, whom they termed the great Rebel in *Aſia*, which he did rather to disburden himſelf

ſelf of fears by ſending the *Spahies* out of the way (who were his oppoſites) then for any love to the publick ſtate; he ſent privily to ſtrangle *Halil Baſſa*, *Georgi*, and *Muſtapha*, late Viziers, hoping thereby he had removed all competitors; whether this gave the occaſion, or that his ſinne was ripe for revenge, the *Spahies* ſuddenly gathered head, and the old wolf fled to his truſty Guard the *Janizaries*. The City was almoſt divided, but the *Spahies* ſent their reſolution plainly, being the weaker in number, that they were loth to come to blowes with their BRETHREN, but if the *Janizaries* would protect him, they ſhould keep him *Conſtantinople* and *Greece*. But they themſelves would depart, and diſpoſed of *Aſia*, which was a bold profeſſion, but eaſie, the forces of the Rebels being of their ſociety. The wiſeſt foreſaw the peril, and they all agreed to change him, and ſo the Seal was given to *Ali Baſſa*, a man reputed honeſt, but melancholick and unexperienced for ſo great a charge.

But upon new diſcontents the Spahies mutiny again.

Which quieted They march,

The Army for *Aſia* arriving at *Nicomedia* five dayes journey from *Conſtantinople* ſhewed little obedience, many disbanded, and the reſt having no deſire to fight with theſe of the ſame *Profeſſion* both in *Religion* and in humour. News came daily to the Port of the taking of Forts by *Abaſſa Baſſa*, the Head of the Rebels, and other defections and combuſtions in thoſe parts, and that that quarrel was taken up againſt the *Janizaries* and the preſent Government, of whom he ſlew all that came into power, as guilty of the blood of *Oſman*. This ſudddenly waked and ripened the project of thoſe who had plotted an alteration. Hereupon the new Vizier *Ali*, with the Counſel of the *Muſti*, and ſome *Captaines* of the ſouldiers of both Orders laid their foundation. They SHEWED the imminent PERIL, *and difficulty to reſiſt or prevent it by Armes*. The *Janizaries* ſaw that they alone muſt, as the mark of Envy, bear the whole burthen; and therefore ALL RESOLVED that THE EASIEST and SAFEST WAY TO APPEASE THEIR TROUBLES WAS TO RESTORE THE TRUE HEIR; hoping that they who pretended their riſing for the love

But no mind to fight.

The Councel at Conſtantinople at their wits end,

They conſult.

Reſolve upon the onely expedient for ſafety.

of his brother, and in revenge of his cauſe, would obey that Prince, and quiet themſelves; upon this reſolution they aſſembled at the *Seraglio* without any tumult, and deſired to have Sultan *Muſtapha* come forth and ſpeak to the ſouldiers, and to anſwer to ſome queſtions which he refuſing as truly unable; they took out Sultan *Morat*, and declared him King with univerſal joy and acclamation, inſomuch as the *Janizaries* (*but the day before his oppoſites*, ſo eaſily can God turne the heart of a multitude) being ſhewed the wants of Treaſure, and the neceſſity of the State, were content to remit their Donative, and encreaſe of Pay uſuall at every change, *Vade tu O miles Anglicane & fac Simile.* Go then O Engliſh Souldier, and do likewiſe.

Which is to declare for the right heir, and make him King, which is alſo done;

☞

Aſia was in this new ſettlement of Affaires, either forgotten or neglected. The Army that was marching thither was ſtayed from proceeding. For it was believed that *Abaſſa Baſſa* depended upon the new Emperour, and would make his ſubmiſſion: *But they had proceeded too far to make any ſafe retreat*, although they were the *indirect (if not direct) occaſion of the* raiſing of the new Emperour. Beſides there reſted ſtill another difficulty, *to introduce the awe of Majeſty, which had been trampled under foot* (and it was a great one) 'when people, like the ſea, had made a 'breach into ancient Reverence, and proſpered, the taſte 'of wickedneſs was not ſo eaſily loſt.

Yet the Janizaries mutiny again for their pay.

In the midſt of this appearing calme, the *Janizaries*, ſome repenting, and ſome denying that ever they conſented, to remit the Donative or encreaſe of pay, did now ſharply demand it with threats of innovation, ſo as they were forced to content them. About this, *Abaſſa Baſſa* began to diſcover, that he had ſome further game to play, then the ſetting up of the Brethren of *Oſman*; for notwithſtanding all pretences of obedience to the new Emperour, he ſuddenly aſſaulted and took the Caſtle of *Tocat*, which is the *Mint* of *Aſia*; ſeven *Beglerbegs*, and ſixteen *Sanracks*, being joyned with him, all that part of *Aſia* obeyed him; *for he oppreſſed none*, onely executing his wrath upon the

The Army in Aſia ſtill proſecure their pretences.

Cruel to the Janizaries, but juſt & friendly to all others.

— Jani-

Janizaries. This advice being brought by a Captain of that Order made much rumour at the Port; the ſouldiers riſing in tumult at the *Seraglio*, demanded to be led out to fight, and to have theſe of *Aſia* declared Rebels; a Counſel to this end was held, where they received ſo cold an anſwer, that they grew into ſome rage, accuſing two *Baſſaes*, by name, *Hali* and *Georgi* to have correſpondence with them; and ſeeming to doubt that the whole State did connive with this action, to proſecute the firſt deſign of *Oſman* to root out the Order of the *Janizaries*; inſomuch as they openly profeſſed, if we be true Muſulmans, and the Emperours ſlaves, let us go out and fight with his Enemies and ours; if not, and that you maintain them againſt us, *we are reſolved to die together, and not to be waſted by pieces*. Therefore to ſatisfie the ſouldiers, the Banner was ſet out at the Gate of the Court, and that of the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* at their Gate, and Warre proclaimed. That all the force of the Empire ſhould be ready to march within four dayes; when they ſaw this reſolution in the great Ones (whether diſſembled or in good earneſt) that day being *Octob.* 18. 1623. The *Janizaries* and *Spahies* held a Counſel, and changed their mindes, alleadging that Winter approaching, and no proviſion made, they would not move. The Viziers were glad, reſpecting their own ends, and ſo all *Aſia* was left to the courteſie of the Rebels and Winter. In the mean time *Abaſſa Baſſa* advanced, and took the City of *Angria*, which was ſurrendred to him as ſoon as he came before it, but the Caſtle held againſt him; and it is reported, 'That he wept at 'the Gates thereof, publiſhing the cauſe of his taking 'up of Armes, which he ſaid was onely in revenge of the 'blood of *Oſman*, deſiring ſuch as favoured him to come 'on his ſide, the reſt to depart in peace every man to his 'own houſe. He did no harme, nor took the value of a 'penny: His Army was very great, and every *Janizary* 'that he could catch, he ſacrificed to the Ghoſt of the dead 'Emperour. *The Aſtrologers publickly augured his proſperity*; and every mans diſcourſe was full of fabulous fears

Whereupon the Ianizaries demand to be led out to fight them.

War proclaimed, the Army to march within four days.

Whereupon the Army held a Counſel, and change their Mindes.

By which news all Aſia's left to the other Army.

'and Propheſies. It was ſaid he would come to the Port and demand audience by juſtice. And it was generally thought from the coldneſſe, both of the Emperour, and of the Vizier's, that he was ſecretly maintained by them, and that he came to fulfil the deſign of *Oſman*, to wreſt the Government from the *mutinied ſouldiers, and to root out their Order.* For all the Lawyers and Churchmen ſmiled, and rather *rejoyced then feared.* The *Janizaries* openly murmured, that they were betrayed, and accuſed many, yet they eſcaped, and now few ſpoke againſt him as a Rebel; yet the firſt of *November* (whether for colour or in earneſt) the great Viziers Tents were paſſed over the water in haſte with theſe of the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and all the force which could be then made at the Court, to Winter on the other ſide in *Bruſia*, to amuſe the rebels, and ſtay them till the Spring, being willing the blow ſhould be taken on the other ſide to ſave the Citie from a Generall ſack.

The Baſſa of Aſia taken into the Emperours favour;

It was afterwards conſidered, that to prevaile againſt *Abaſſa Baſſa* with Armes was a doubtfull matter, and therefore the Sultan ſent to him a *Capigi Baſſa*, with a Veſt, a Sword, and a Letter, giving him thanks for the love ſhewed to his brother and his Blood: But that now the Revenge belonged to him himſelf, of which he would take care; and therefore deſired him, 'If he were a true ſub-'ject to return to his Government of *Arrivum*, and to 'diſſolve his Armies, and there to reſt until further occaſion 'of ſervice. Upon this Order from the Emperour he excuſeth himſelf; That the incommodity of Winter would not ſuffer him to retire, but promiſed to live in peace untill the Spring, and then he would returne in obedience to his Government.

Promiſeth to lay down Arms.

About which time, namely, *March* 24. 1624. *Ali Baſſa* the great Vizier was beheaded, and *Cerques Mechemet Baſſa* advanced to the place, a man of an honeſt and ſincere nature (for a *Mahometan*) and one too good for thoſe times, and that people, who after he had enjoyed his place (one of the greateſt Dignities in the world) but a

New Vizier choſen at the Port.

ſhort

ſhort while, by an example ſcarce to be paralleſ'd, laboured to ſurrender it as unable to ſupport or content the inſolency of the *Spahies* in their unreaſonable demands of impoſſible benefits. In the mean time the preparation for the War in *Aſia* (which had been once againſt impeded) was advanced, though the reſolution to ſet forward was deferred upon hope, that *Cherques Mechemet Baſſa*, and other new Miniſters might by their perſwaſion and authority reduce *Abaſſa Baſſa*, looked on, they having undertaken to endeavour it; though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the ſiege of *Argria*, and that his ſcattered Army that Wintered abroad began to return to him from all Parts, and it was concluded he would be loath to truſt his life upon a pardon, though the Grand Seignior had ſent him another.

Yet ſuddenly (contrary to the feares of many, and the expectations of almoſt all) *Abaſſa Baſſa* roſe from *Angria*, and departed Eaſtward, having done no ſpoile at all to the City nor Inhabitants, but left behinde him a farre better fame then any Governour ſent from the Port; he had now accepted the Grand Signiors pardon, and in obedience to his Command and ſhew of ſubmiſſion was now marched away to unite his Forces with *Achis Achmet Baſſa* againſt the *Perſian*; yet whatever might ſeeme to be between the Port and him, there was not ſo much as a ſeeming reconciliation between him and the *Janizaries*: for after this the *Janizaries* coming over into *Aſia* with *Cerques Mehemet Baſſa* againſt the *Perſian*, put a whole Garriſon of *Abaſſa Baſſaes* to the ſword, man, woman, and childe, though they had ſet open their Gates to entertain them as friends. In revenge whereof *Abaſſa Baſſa* falling in upon the quarters of the *Janizaries*, ſlew 3000. of them, and had done further execution, if the whole Army had not come to reſcue. And withdraws his forces.

This was the ſtrte of affaires abroad; in the meane time at *Conſtantinople* the *Spahies* aſſembled in the *Hippodrome*, diſcontent with the Government of the old *Chimacham*, *Georgi Mechemet Baſſa*, who had the Authority of the great The Spahies again mutiny; And

Cauſe the old Chimacham to be put to death

great Vizier in his abſence at the Warre, and in great fury ran to the houſe of the *Mufti*, and demanded of him to donounce ſentence of death againſt him, and that he would riſe and inform the Grand Signior of *Their Will*; which if he refuſed, they threatned a general revolt, and to do their own juſtice; There was no remedy, the Emperour being informed inſtantly, diſplaced him, and gave the Office to *Regeb* Captain *Baſſa*, and his to *Imbraher Baſſa*, hoping thus to quiet all the matter: but this gave them no ſatisfaction, they demanded in greater fury his life. The poor old man was retyred into the Grand Signiors protection, who uſed all means to appeaſe them offering to baniſh or confine him; but nothing would content, or ſeparate them, until he had delivered him up, who the next day was ſtrangled, and thrown into the ſtreets; where the *Barbarians* vented their ſpleen upon his dead bodie, cutting off his eares and noſe, and carrying them in triumph to their fellows. Preſently they demand the life of ſome others, principally of *Moret Chiaus* the Cuſtomer, whom when they could not find, they ſacked his houſe; within a day or two after they began to be quiet, upon promiſe, that if he could be found, he ſhould be rendred to them, and others be brought to Juſtice. That great Miniſter the *Chimacham* was ninty ſix yeares old, had been fourty five years Vizier, their *Chimacham*; when the ſentence of his condemnation was delivered to the *Boſtangi Baſſa*, he came to the lodging of the *Chimacham* in the Kings Garden (where he thought himſelfe in Sanctuary) and for reverence to his age and place, held it, being written in his hand, rather to intimate them to be the Meſſengers. 'The poor old man perceiving it, deſired 'one houre to pray, and conjured him to warn the Grand 'Signior hereafter not to be ſo eaſie to conſent to 'ſhed innocent blood, which within a few dayes he would 'repent. The Executioners, whether for fear, or for want 'of skill, could not diſpatch him in one houre, ſo great 'was his old heart.

But ſee how God, to whom vengeance belongeth, avenged the blood of his enemies, and wicked men unjuſtly ſpilt,

ſpilt, to preſerve his image even amongſt them that ſtudy to deſtroy it. The *Janizaries* either envious that they had no part in the laſt ſedition, or being innocent, unwilling to participate in the infamy, or rather it was their faire to do ſomewhat, forced the Boats of the Gallies which lay above *Conſtantinople* in the channel, and came down to a Garden-houſe upon the Sea in the night, where the Emperour privately repoſed, and began to exclaime againſt the death of the innocent, proteſting they had no ſhare therein, but as obedient ſlaves, they deſired the peace of the State, and that JUSTICE and QUIETNESSE miget returne to the City: and requiring revenge upon divers whom they accuſed as the Authours of theſe Tumults: 'They named their own *Segmen Baſſa* as the principal, and eighteen of their own 'Officers more, and divers others of the chiefe *Spahies*, 'who held *Counſels together*, and were become *heads of* 'Factions; which untill they were *All cut off*, there was 'no hope of good Government and peace. The Grand 'Signior gave them mild words, and promiſed to do Juſtice, 'and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be found guilty, but nothing was done to ſatisfie them; and being conceived that the new *Chimacham* connived, and had been a party to all their Counſels (at leaſt his preferment made him obnoxious to that ſuſpition) and it was true that *Segmen Baſſa* and his faction were the contrivers of the fall and murther of *Georgi Mechemet Baſſa*; and very probable that he was favoured, if not practiſed by the new Miniſters: the *Janizaries* roſe again, and by force brought down the Galleys neer the City, and landed, and *held a Counſel very ſecret in their Chambers*. This bred much ſuſpition and feare. But the day of publick audience being come, according to the cuſtome, they repaired all to the *Seraglio*, and waited in their Order; their *Segmen Baſſa* onely did not appear, and it was thought he abſented himſelfe purpoſely, by agreement with the *Chimacham*, leſt there ſhould be ſome occaſion offered to examine the paſt buſineſſe which would not endure the light. The *Divan* being

The Ianizaries riſe,

Declare againſt this act of their fellow ſouldiers, the Spahies.

Deſire juſtice againſt divers of their own Officers, and the Officers of the *Spahies*, as men that had debauched the Army, and led them into, and encouraged them in all their mutinies;

Accuſing them of Factions, and holding Conventicles and Counſels.

finiſh-

finished, the Viziers and *Cadeleschers* coming towards the Gate, they were stopped by the *Janizaries*, and told plainly they would speak with the King; such perswasions as were requisite were used; but there was no remedy, they would deliver their own message. The young Emperour at first was afraid, and retyred; but to avoyd greater inconveniences resolved to come out to them. Order was instantly given to send for the *Mufti*, and the ancients of the Law, and many *Santons*; for the *Segmen Bassa*, and others of quality to be present at this action. In the mean time a Throne was brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand *Segmen* came forth and sate in his Majestie, attended and assisted by all the great Officers and Ministers of his Empire, to strike a reverence and fear into his souldiers, whose purposes were not yet discovered. Contrary to all expectation, an *Electo* spake for them; '*In all humble manner professing their* 'obedience, *and lamenting the sicknesse of their State, and* 'the daily insolencies; and declaring that as they were 'not guilty of the last mutiny, so they were ready to spend 'their blood in defence of their PRINCE. And for the 'Reformation of those disorders, to which there could be 'applied no remedy, but by the sword of Justice to cut 'off all those heads, that *held Conventicles*, and plotted 'daily *alterations*, onely to governe the whole Empire at 'their Will. They desired their Petition might be accepted, and those disturbers of the Peace sought out and 'executed, in which they would assist; and that new '*Names and Titles might be forbidden*; which many had 'taken up as heads of Factions, and the *Souldiery reduced* 'to their ancient *Discipline*; which if his Majesty would 'grant, and speedily put in practise, they were ready to die 'in his service; *otherwise*, as there was no *hope of quietnesse*, so they did foresee greater mischiefs daily, which 'they would oppose as they were able. At the end of this Oration, which might have become a *Cato* (yea, a Christian, *Vade tu Miles Anglicane, & fac Simile*, Go thou English souldier and do likewise) they delivered a brief

The Janizaries come to the Port and desire Peace.

All the Grandees of the Empire assemble together. One in the name of the rest, delivers first a speech, then a Petition

Both fitter for States-men then souldiers, for Christians then Turks.

brief Petition in writing wherein they modestly accused the new *Chimachams* of confederacy, and connivence with their *Segmen Bassa*, whom they anew appealed and gave up the *Names of their Officers and Spahies*, upon whom they laid the burthen of their daily tumults.

The Emperour gave them a short but satisfactory answer, yeelding to their requeſt, yet mingled with some admonition, such as became a Prince. And so they departed every man to their own reſt. But the *Segmen Bassa* having some intimation that his name was renued in that liſt of death, took the first opportunity, fled and hid himself, and divers others conscious of their own merits *resyred*, and thereby condemned themselves. With much diligence the *Segmen Bassa* was apprehended and brought to the Court, he was examined rather to finde his own Treasure, which was infinite, then to discover other men. The Grand Signior sent for him, and after a few words, gave sentence to have his head struck off, which was instantly done before the door; afterwards divers of both Orders (that is *Janizaries* and *Spahies*) were taken to the number of twenty two, were taken, and privately strangled and thrown into the sea; these (principally branded) were hidden or fled. And suddenly, as if peace were risen out of the old *Chimachams* grave, there was an end of the tumults and disorders among the souldiers: the *Spahies* shrunk, not one revenging *Spahie* to be seen in all the City; and the *Janizaries*, as their glory, took upon them an austere Reformation; and all things were so calme as if *Astrea* had come down from heaven among them.

The Segmen Bassa, the man principally accused, hides himself, but being found is put to death, with some 22. others of both Orders.

After which the Army returns to their duty, and peace to the Empire.

THe reading of History having in it no recompense but delight, unleſſe it look forward to use and action, either to correct errors past, or direct wayes for the future: it will not be unprofitable upon the foregoing discourse to raise som Observations, First Theological, Secondly, Moral and Political.

First, Theological. There are in this discourse several things of God discovered, worthy our taking notic of.

As first the absolute and uncontroulable Soverainty of God over the greateſt Monarchs and Emperors of the world.

Behold one of the greatest Monarchs of the earth, subdued and routed out of all by his own Vassals, who at their first rising intended no such thing. He cuts off the spirit of Princes; he is terrible to the Kings of the earth, *Psal.* 76. 12.

Secondly, observe here the infinite wisdome of God, who can by the Passions, and lusts, and furies of men accomplish his own, wise, and just holy ends. This Army in all their mad fury did not what themselves plotted and intended, but what God decreed.

Thirdly, behold here the exact justice of God in revenging first the blood of *Osman*, then the blood of *Georgi*, (though wicked men) to his Enemies; shall he not much more avenge the blood of his Elect?

Fourthly, observe here the wonderful power of God over the spirits of men; how soon can the Lord calme their greatest rage and fury? and none can do it but he; he stilleth the raging of the sea, and the tumults of the people.

For Moral Observations take these.

First, how dangerous a thing it is for any supream power to stand in need of a constant standing Army; they do but bestride an unruly Camel, which they cannot manage, as this unfortunate *Osman* dreamt, before his death.

Secondly, what a dangerous thing it is for the Civil Power to permit the souldiers and Officers of the Army, to hold their Counsels and Conventicles. These were the roots of all these troubles in the Turkish Empire.

Thirdly, how much better it is to be under the yoke of Monarchies, then at the courtesie of a mutinied Army, appears by this story.

Fourthly, that the common souldier having been debauched by their own Officers, may at last prove honest, and delivering their misleaders to Justice, may return to their duty and obedience. *Amen.*

FINIS.

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